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If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa*, had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection. 721

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i* (*pa'e*, head-dress; *vi'i*, to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua*, with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a cocoanut tree shredded into small strips *(kahu koua'ehi)*, a sign of *tapu*. Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into battle, however. When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua*, or *pa'e vi'i toua*, was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war *(utu po)* consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae (oho*, be angry; *tae*, accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto (tuhi*, sign; *toto*, blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe (tamoe*, watch at night with dead; *oe*, you), in the evening (7). [202] [534]

War Leaders and Fighters

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later. 701

The actual war leader was called *toa*, which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium.

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion.

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . .

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tevavu* (*ka'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked.

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535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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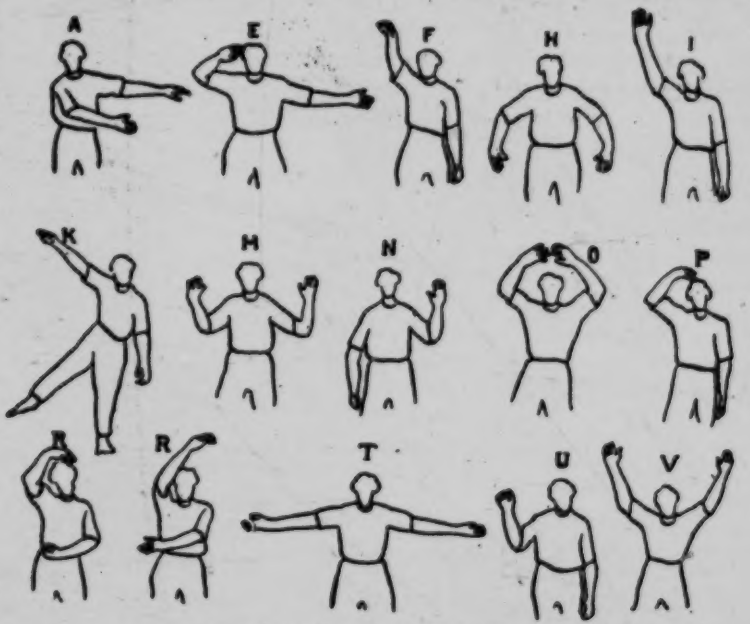

FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriota*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

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Both men and women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *toko-toko pio'o*, see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki*, according to this informant, was the custom called *moko*, which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko*, and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva*. For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f*.) Small tiki figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

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Very large drums (*pahu anaana, hoho te pepe*) were used on the dance area at the great festivals, being placed on the ground-level of the paved space next to a platform on which the beaters stood. It is said that the base sometimes rested on a pile of brush, which gave the great instrument a deeper sound. Smaller drums (*tutu*), beaten on the floor of the dance area, accompanied the great ones, the large ones being beaten in a slow rhythm, the small ones more rapidly. Melville describes (23, p. 198) the way in which one drummer would relieve the other without allowing the rhythm to be interrupted. The accompaniment of the drum consisted not only in the beating (*pahu patu*) of the head, but in tapping or slapping the sides (*pahu titii*) of the body. *Umi* or *pahu peiei* or *teve* (8) were drums smaller than the *tutu*, used also to accompany chants.

MOUTH FLUTE

The bamboo mouth flute was called *ki* on Hiva Oa and *pu hakahau* on Ua Pou. Such flutes had from three to five holes. One with five holes was obtained from Ua Pou—but it was said that no more than four holes were ever used in playing. The end of the bamboo that was inserted in the mouth was left closed by the natural joint of the stem. Just beyond this joint a sliver about an inch and a half long was cut, being left attached to the bamboo pipe at its extremity. Under this end, where the sliver was attached, a human hair was inserted so that the sliver was elevated very slightly. The lips being placed beyond this point of attachment, the sliver served as a vibrating reed producing the tone of the instrument when the breath was caused to pass it very gently. The tone of the *pu hakahau* is very soft and subdued. It was a man's instrument. Its use with the songs called *eu'u* is described in connection with these songs. (See Honorific Chants.) A mouth flute of the same type (see fig. 29, *b*), with three holes, was called *vivo* on Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) gives as other names of mouth flutes *ivitahi, i'a pianamai, i'a pi veuveu.*

NOSE FLUTE

The nose flute (*ki kohe puru, pu ihu*) was made of a larger bamboo than the mouth flute and emitted a less plaintive tone. The bamboo was closed at one end as is described above, and near this end was burned a hole. The flute being held projecting to one side, one nostril was placed over this hole while the other was closed with a finger of the hand that supported the flute at its lower end. The fingers of the other hand played on the several holes that were burned in the pipe near the farther extremity. Both men and women played on this instrument, but it was

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particularly the instrument used in love-making by young men. It is said that those who knew the art of playing this instrument could talk through its tones. A girl's lover would go behind her house at night

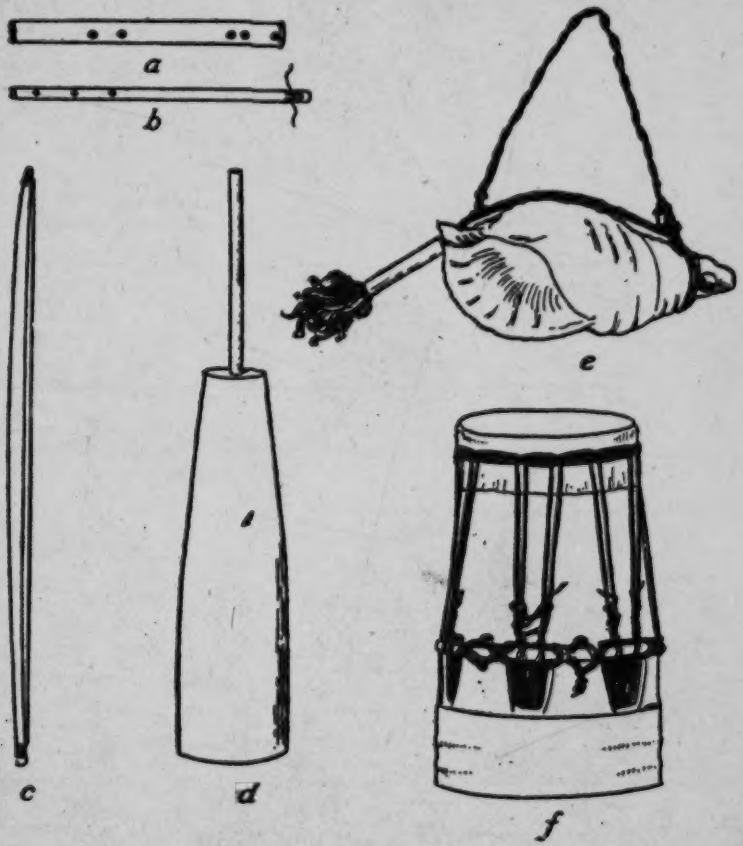

FIGURE 29.—Musical instruments: *a*, nose flute; *b*, mouth flute; *c*, musical bow; *d*, trumpet made of wood; *e*, shell trumpet; *f*, drum.

and thus talk to her as she lay on the family bed space, luring her to come out to him—and it was not only unmarried girls that were "talked to" in this way! The nose flute was the instrument of the Marquesas islander's most subtle mode of love making. (See fig. 29, *a*.)

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OTHER SMALL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The xylophone (*pahu kouhau*) used on Nuku Hiva consisted of two small sticks, serving as supports, to which were attached ten cross pieces of *fau* wood of different *lengths*. Two small sticks held in the hands served for tapping the cross pieces. How or when the xylophone was played was not ascertained. The ten cross pieces would indicate a range of ten notes or intervals (not necessarily whole tones, of course—four notes is the greatest range of any chant recorded. Garcia (p. 188) speaks of "a kind of harmonica . . . composed of two or three pieces of dry wood, which they place across their knees and which they strike rhythmically with a little stick." 534

A native jew's harp (*tita'a koke*), which appears to be indigenous, was made with a flat piece of bamboo in one end of which a slit had been cut. Over this slit a sliver of bamboo was held with the fingers as the instrument was being played, held pressed against the lips with one hand while the fingers of the other strummed the sliver.

The conch shell (*putona*) served as a trumpet for the chiefs and priests. With it the chief summoned his warriors and his workers, announced his arrival in a canoe, the birth of a male heir, or the like. The priests made use of the conch at the temple in the same way. Strings of red and of white bark cloth and of sennit cord were attached to the trumpets to carry them, and human hair decorated them. The mouthpiece consisted of a candlenut through which a hole had been made, glued with breadfruit sap on the hole or on the apex of the shell; or a longer mouthpiece of bamboo was attached with sennit cords. It is said that the conch shell (Putona) was the wife of the shark (Mano). These trumpets were *tapu*. (See fig. 29, *e*.) According to Marchand (22, p. 138) nearly the same sound as that produced by the conch shell was obtained in another instrument described as a piece of bamboo to which was fastened another smaller piece of bamboo at an acute angle.

Another type of trumpet was made of a hollowed piece of wood about two feet long and eight inches in diameter narrowing to a small hole at one end, to which was attached a large bamboo a foot or more long that served as a mouth piece. This trumpet was used in canoes. (See fig. 29, *d*.)

The musical bow (*utete*) was played by women. It was made of *mi'o* wood and was from a yard to a yard and a half long. It had only one small cord of plaited sennit, which was attached to the extremities of the bow through holes—the spring of the bow held the string taut. One end of the instrument was held in the mouth, the other end, extending out to the side, being held by the left hand. The string was plucked with the right hand. (See fig. 29, *c*.)

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reason: the *pu hakahau* had on it a scale of four notes and the limit of the range of the *ru'u* and *rari*, as has been said, was four whole tones. It seems probable that anciently these songs were accompanied by the flute. The spacing of the holes of the flute which were measured off by two-finger widths may have had a determining influence on the scale originally used in the *ru'u*.

On Ua Huka the same system of signaling was used by the women in the *hu'u* as that used by the men in the *tapriata* dance. (See Modern Dancing.) In other words the motions here were partly codical and partly pantomimic. One *rari* which I have has a repeated refrain called *moumu*.

The Tapé'a Chant

The *tapé'a* was sung with the *rari*. Like it, it was sung by men and women together, and its subject matter, form, time, and melody were the same. After three or four *rari* were sung, the performers would stop, rest, smoke, and chat, and then finish with the *tapé'a*. In other words the *tapé'a* followed and completed the singing of the *rari*, just as the *pehi* followed the *putu*. In the *tapé'a* the women sang alone, while on some occasions the men did what was called *ha'a koakoa* (to enliven), making choral accompaniment, on other occasions uttering forceful ejaculations and accompanying them with pantomimic motions. While the *rari* and *ru'u* are quiet and meditative, the *tapé'a*, due to this part enacted by the men, is very rousing. The purpose, as evidenced by the meaning of the ejaculations and pantomime, and as explained by informants, is erotic excitation.

The Pipine Chat

The *pipine* was a song composed in honor of a girl, corresponding to the *putu* for the boy. Youths (*ka'ioi*) built a special house (*ohoau*) near the dwelling of the girl's family. A *tuhuna* composed the *pipine* in this house, and there taught it to a choir of young girls (*vehine ka'ioi*). When the song had been well rehearsed it was sung before the house of the girl in whose honor it had been composed, and there was a feast in her honor. The words of the example obtained describe the girl's preparing herself for the fête. A woman leader (*kahua*) sang the first line before the others joined in, as was the *putu* chant for the boy. The melody is slow and graceful, essentially feminine. It has a range of only three notes. The singers, who were seated in lines on the grounds or on the house platform, accompanied their singing with clapping with the palms flat (*papaki*) and with hollow palms (*pu*). There was no drum accompaniment. The bodies of the singers were swung from side to side accompanying the rhythm of the song.

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Pu'ukeha, and I'i

539 576 The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar in purpose to the *putu* and the *pipine*, but composed and sung in honor of a person's mother.

The *i'i* was sung in honor of a chiefess. When a chiefess in a valley would announce that she was about to celebrate a *ko'ina ii*, all the people from other valleys who came to the feast were expected to come prepared to sing the *i'i* in honor of the giver of the feast and to bring flowers and other offerings.

The Komumu Chant

539 534 Characteristic of the *komumu*, or *mumu*, another chant that was sung at festivals by choruses of men and women together, was its accompaniment—a tapping with small sticks. This chant was not *tapu*. The natives of Atu Ona said that it was sung by young men and women, but on Nuku Hiva a good informant said that it was the old people who sang it. According to Dordillon (8) the *mumu* was a song of the *ka'ioi*. The singers, seated on the dance area, were directed by a man called *fatieka*, who stood in the midst of them. Three sizes of sticks were used to accompany the *komumu*. The largest was hollowed out on the under side midway between the ends, but the others were merely peeled sticks. The hollowed place on the larger sticks was held with the palm curved under it so that it made a deep reverberating sound when tapped. The first *komumu* is supposed to have been composed by two ogresses (*vehine hae*). Dordillon (8) gives *papaki akau*, meaning to beat a cadence on two pieces of wood, and *pahu kouhau*, to beat a cadence on three pieces of wood.

[576] The following description of a *komumu* is from Pua Ma'u. The chant was sung in honor of the child of a chief. The performers were seated in a circle. Each man had two small sticks about an inch and a half in diameter and six inches long, one stick of each pair having on one side a scooped-out place, which was held over the hollow of the upturned palm. This stick was tapped with the other immediately over this place so that a hollow musical sound was produced. Two men had small logs about six inches in diameter which were tapped in a slower rhythm, furnishing a bass accompaniment to the rapid tapping of the smaller pairs of sticks. The Pua Ma'u people say that only men played the accompaniment, as the sticks were *tapu* to women.

539 This quotation from Melville (23, p. 257) evidently describes the singing of *komumu*:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these island-

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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533 or *mauna a'e*, very high, or *i a'o oa*, very low. Every form of chant had its established voice or register. Thus *pu'e* chant was intoned by the chorus of old men of the tribe in deep bass; while the graceful *pipine* was in a high register. In other words, the mood of the chant appears to have determined both the voice in which it was sung and the nature of the melody and rhythm. This furnishes one of many indications made evident by the study of the ancient culture of this people of their high artistic sensibility.

Singing was accompanied by vocal ejaculations, by clapping of several kinds, and by instruments. Many chants were, however, sung with no accompaniment. Accompaniment by vocal ejaculations is illustrated in the type of song called *tape'a* (p. 37). There were three ways of clapping the hands, each of which produced a different effect. Clapping with the palms hollowed and at right angle to each other was called *pu*. This produced a hollow sound, evidently suggestive to the native ear of the sound of the conch shell trumpet (*pu*). A lighter, flatter sound, contrasting with this, was produced by clapping the hands flattened and held parallel to each other, a mode of accompanient referred to onomatopoetically as *papaki*. A third type of hand clapping, called *pitike*, was sometimes used to mark time. This consisted in striking the palm of the left hand with the fingers of the right. Lastly there was the accompaniment called *poko*, to produce which the left arm was held crooked against the body and the hollowed palm of the right hand struck upon the hollow between the elbow pit and the body. This produced a sound deeper and louder than the *pu*.

534 The instruments most commonly used for accompaniment were drums made of a hollowed cylinder of wood with shark's skin stretched across the top. Although drums were of all sizes, there seem to have been two general classes: the *pahu anaana*, which were very large, some of them as much as six feet in height; and the small drums called *tutu*. There was also a very small drum called *umi*, used to accompany singing. In accompanying some chants drums of all types were employed; the great drums following the chanting with a slow ryhthm, the small drums faster. The type of love song called *ru'u*, which is typical of the northern Marquesan Islands, was accompanied by bamboo mouth flutes (*pu hakahau*), which give a very subdued, gentle note. Another type of song, the *komumu*, was accompanied by tapping one upon the other, small resonant sticks held in either hand of each singer. I do not know whether any of the other musical instruments of the natives—the nose flute, the xylophone, musical bow, bamboo Jew's harp, and trumpets made of shell and wood—served to accompany singing.

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X533 that were tapu and those that were not. Those learning tapu songs were under numerous restrictions; they were confined to their work, and all sorts of pleasures of common everyday life were denied them; and these prohibitions had to be strictly regarded, for delinquency on the part of a single member of the chorus was capable of destroying the efficacy of the whole work. In addition to the actual deprivations, there must have been at such times a sense of "living under a cloud"; being tapu must have carried with it for the members of the chorus, especially if they were in their youthful and ardent years, a strong feeling of what may be characterized as emotional and mental burden, a sense of oppression. But we may imagine a very different atmosphere when a chorus of youths and maids, unburdened by restrictions, gathered to learn or to sing a recreational song; when the mood of the singers was that of the "lover and his lass" for whom "life was but a flower," and the song must have gone, as in old England, "With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino."

The recreational chants, specimens of which are presented in this paper, are the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a*. In addition to these there are several other types that were much used in the old days. No informant was found who could or would sing any except those here presented, but examples of the verse of the *uta* song will be published in a collection of Marquesan lore.[1] There were *uta tapu*, and common *uta*. The *uta tapu* [764] were distinctly religious chants with erotic words, which, handed down as family heirlooms, were sung at funeral feasts as tokens of affection for, to give pleasure to, and doubtless also to stimulate, the spirits of the departed. But common *uta* were mere love songs in which any boy or girl, or for that matter, any older man or woman, might express passion for one of the opposite sex. Words of such songs are very easily obtained; and it is beyond question that there is many a native who could sing them if caught in the right mood. Natural shyness and constraint would make it difficult for a native to sing one of these before any foreigner; and anyone who at all understands the Polynesian nature, or for that matter youthful and temperatmental human nature anywhere else in the world, must realize that it would hardly be possible for a Marquesan to sit down with a prodding ethnologist and in cold blood produce a sample of the type of song that is but the spontaneous expression in music and poetry of an impassioned soul.

X533 534 Another type of recreational song that was very popular in the old days was the *komumu*, or *mumu*. The peculiar feature of this chant was its accompaniment. Each singer in the body of men and women who performed the *komumu* held in the left hand a stick of soft, resonant wood.

[1] Handy, E. S. Craighill, B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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These sticks varied in size; the larger sticks had on the underside a small hollowed place that was held over the hollow of the palm. As they sang the *komumu* at feasts or at home in the evening, the singers, seated in a circle, accompanied the chant by tapping on these resonant bits of wood each with a stick held in the right hand; and a bass was furnished by several small resonant logs that were tapped in the same manner, but in slower tempo. It appears that men and women of all ages sang this song. Tradition has it that the first *komumu* was taught to a Hivaoa man by two ogresses who lured him into the uplands and made him captive; afterwards, when the hero of the legend escaped and returned to the habitations of men, he brought back with him a new kind of song which has been a favorite ever since.

Although the following remarks by Melville are scarcely to be called an appreciative picture, evidently they are descriptive of the singing of the *komumu*, and they may serve to give some idea of the effect of these singings. What Melville speaks of as "half-rotten sticks" were undoubtedly dried pieces of fau wood which though solid is very light and porous, and on account of its resonance, is used in the *komumu* and for making xylophones. Melville[8] wrote:

> Every night, before retiring, the inmates of the house gathered together on the mats, and squatting upon their haunches, after the universal practice of these islanders, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer.

The eulogistic chants were not merely songs composed and sung in honor of someone as a complimentary expression or as a feature in some entertainment, as one unacquainted with the Marquesan mind and manners would probably suppose. Although some eulogistic chants were purely for pleasure and amusement, others were serious in their purpose, forming, so to speak, the nuclei about which feasts and festivals of large social and religious significance were enacted. Socially, chants such as the *putu*, when performed with accompanying formalities, had a lasting effect upon the prestige of the honored youth, and for his whole family connection as well, in enhancing his and their prestige, and celebrating an event that would be remembered as long as the song itself was sung, which might be for generations. Often the occasion of the composition of such a laudatory chant as the *putu* would come about when a tribal headman would call upon the tribesmen to build a new feast and dance place with great stone platforms and paved court in honor of his first-born son.

[8] Melville, Herman, Typee—a peep at Polynesian life during a four-months residence in a valley of the Marquesas, p. 257, New York, 1876.

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building resembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and answered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark.

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the entrance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

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[283] The cords of the large fish net (*upena*) were dyed red with earth
[386] called *ko'oa* which was worked into them in the course of the rolling, but apparently there was no decorative intent. Colors other than red and black do not seem to have been used. The method in dyeing the cord black was not ascertained, but it was probably the same as that used in dyeing sennit black.

[824] Next to the fau bark the material in most common use is coconut fiber. This fiber is of two kinds, that from the husk, which is short and rather stiff, and that from the leaf sheath, which is longer and more flexible, but lacks the strength of the husk fiber. Husk fiber is used for all ordinary cordage and is obtained by beating fresh moist coconut husks with stones until the tissues have been crushed and the fibers can be separated by hand. In the leaf sheath the fibers are arranged in thin layers which can easily be separated with the [227] fingers. Sheath fiber is said to have been employed for the large nets used in turtle fishing, and for the lashings of some chiefs' houses and sacred structures. It was also occasionally used for the thin cord employed in *pavahina* and as [534] strings for musical bows.

The heavier grades of coconut fiber cord are usually plaited, but the smallest cord is twisted from two strands while a somewhat heavier twisted cord, in a single strand, is used in one form of ornamental plaiting. Ordinary cord (Pl. LXV, *D* 1) was made by plaiting three untwisted strands of fiber, additional fibers being worked in as the plaiting progressed to keep the strands of uniform size.

The plaiter seated himself and, holding the end of the cord with his toes, plaited upward and away from the body. The ornamental cords used for *hue* nets and drum lashings were plaited from many strands—five, six, eight, and from nine to fifteen inclusive. They appear to have been always in the form of flat ribbons, and it is rather curious that no square four-strand coconut fiber plaits were seen although this technique was employed for some bark ropes.

Two forms of plaiting were used, one of which gave a broad thin band having the appearance of twilled fabric (Pl. LXV, *D*, 3), while in the other the strands ran in diagonally to the center of the band, where they passed alternately over and under (Pl. LXV, *D*, 2). The ends of cords made by the first technique were usually finished by short sections made by the second. In large cords made by the second technique two longitudinal strands of twisted fiber were usually used as a base, the strands of the plait passing alternately over and under these in a sort of figure eight motion. In well made cords of this type the base strands were completely covered, and the finished product gave the effect of being made from two cords tightly twisted in opposite directions and placed side by side. Many strand cords made by plaiting together elements which were themselves plaited do not appear to have been used.

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

In musical ability the Marquesans appear to have been inferior to the Tahitians and the Hawaiians, but they possessed a number of musical instruments, the most important of which were drums (Pl. LXXII, *A*). That these were made in a variety of forms and sizes is indicated by the following terms from Dordillon's Dictionary[3]:

Pahu.	Drum.
Pahu peiei.	Small drum.
Pahu ua.	Double drum.
Pahu me'ae.	Large drums used in the *me'ae*.
Pahu putuu.	Short drum.
Pahu oeoe.	Small drum used to accompany songs.
Pahu tapete.	Long narrow drum.
Umi.	Drum.
Teveteve.	Drum.
Pere.	Kind of small drum.
Uhaki.	Small drum played with the *uhaki*.
Pahu vanana.	A thin drum, perhaps six feet high, made of *toa* wood; it was beaten as an accompaniment for the singing of the *vanana* by the men in the *me'ae*.
Utu.	A small drum used at feasts.
Pahu umi.	A small drum.
Tutu.	Small drums played on the *tohua*.
Pahu anana.	Big drums beaten from a *paepae*.

Unfortunately several of the drums in this list can no longer be identified. The *pahu ua* must have constituted a distinct type, but no information in regard to it was obtained and no examples seem to have survived. Except for the *pahu ua*, all the Marquesan drums figured or preserved conform so closely to a single type of design and construction that it seems probable that they differed only in size and in minor details. They may be described as follows:

The smallest drum seen was slightly more than thirteen inches high with a head diameter of six inches. The largest, a *pahu me'ae*, had lost its base through decay, but must originally have been more than eight feet high with a rim diameter of nineteen inches. The bases of even the largest drums seem to have been comparatively low, the differences in height resulting from variations in the length of the body.

All drums were hewn from a single piece of wood. Some very large drums were apparently made from temanu, but the decay of the wood made identification difficult. Drums of ordinary size appear to have been uniformly made of *mio;* and as only the dark heart wood was used, very large trees must have been required. The body of the drum was shaped with adzes and the interior hollowed with chisel and mallet. Fire does not seem to have been used.

The body of the Marquesan drum was cylindrical. In drums of ordinary size the diameter was slightly greater at the bottom than at the top, but in the very large temple drums

[3] Translation and explanatory notes by E. S. Craighill Handy.

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534 the diameter seems to have been uniform. The bodies of at least 90 per cent of the drums were
[531] decorated with a series of shallow horizontal grooves, apparently made with an adz. In a few drums the upper part of the body was decorated with simple angular-geometric designs of the sort used on house posts. It is possible that the bodies of some of the temple drums were smoothly finished. The lip of the drum was somewhat recurved, as in round bowls of normal type, the greatest width of the interior being one to two inches below the rim. The bottom of the excavation was bluntly conical. The thickness of the walls varied in different specimens but rarely, if ever, exceeded one inch.

The body and base of the drum were hewn in one piece. The interior of the base was cut away and its sides were pierced at intervals so that the body seemed to rest upon six to eight thin, flat legs connected at the bottom by a broad ring. The ring was commonly decorated
[531] with a few broad shallow horizontal grooves. As a rule, the legs of the drum were smoothly finished, but a few seem to have been decorated with simple angular designs. Through the top center of each leg two holes were pierced, one above the other, for the attachment of the hoop lashings. In drums of ordinary size the base was wider than the body and tapered inward toward its top, but in the temple drums the diameter of base and body seems to have been uniform.

A wooden hoop made of a split withe encircled the base of the drum just below its juncture with the body. It was attached to the drum by means of ornamental lashings of small
[531] sennit, which were passed through the holes and around the sides of the legs. In all the drums seen natural color sennit was employed and the design was a simple diamond. In one specimen tufts of human hair had apparently been laid upon the outside of the hoop before the lashings were put on.

534 The drumhead was made of thin shark skin, put on wet. In the edges of the skin,
264 which extended for some distance down the sides of the drum, vertical slits were cut at re-
[231] gular intervals. A heavy cord of flat braided sennit was passed several times around the drum, threaded in and out through the slits in the skin. This lashing was so arranged that there was always an equal number of strands inside and outside. Thus, if we designate four successive slits in the skin as A, B, C, and D, the cord on the first circuit would lie outside between A and B, inside, against the wood, between B and C, and outside again between C and D. On the second circuit it would lie inside between A and B, outside between B and C, and inside again between C and D. In this way a ring of sennit was formed around the lower edge of the head. The arrangement of the lashings connecting this ring with the wooden hoop on the base of the drum is clearly shown on Plate LXXII, *A*. The lashings consisted of a series of loops of heavy sennit cord. The upper ends of the cord passed under the outer lashings of the ring on the outer sides of each pair of slits. The cords forming the outer sides of adjoining loops thus crossed each other at the slits and were carried down nearly parallel. For approximately the lower third of their length the cords were united into a single strand by wrappings of sennit. According to one informant, carved tubes of human bone were sometimes threaded upon the paired cords just above the sennit wrapping. When it was necessary to tighten the lashings these tubes would be forced upwards, drawing the cords together, thus increasing the tension. A different method of tightening the lashings appears to have been employed ordinarily. A number of turns of ribbon-like sennit were wrapped around the body of the drum about midway between the ring and hoop. When these were drawn taut the vertical loops of sennit were forced inward against the body of the drum, tightening the head.

534 Stewart (59, p. 258) says that the small drums used at dances were made of kou wood, and had a small hole in the center of the bottom. He also says (59, p. 257) that the heads of the temple drums were made of ray skin instead of shark skin. No drums with a hole in the bottom were found, but Stewart is a thoroughly trustworthy observer and his statement is sufficient to establish their existence.

Even the large temple drums appear to have been beaten with the hand. Because of their great length they were placed on the ground beside special platforms on which the drummers stood.

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TRUMPETS

As Marquesan musical instruments, trumpets (*pu*) stand next in importance to drums. They are made of *mio* wood and of Cassis and Triton shells. 534 321

The body of the wooden trumpet was a simple tube tapering toward the upper end. (See Pl. LXXII, *D*.) Dimensions of an average specimen are: length, 1 foot, 9 inches; diameter at mouth, 6¼ inches; diameter at upper end, 3 inches. The walls vary in thickness from slightly less than ½ an inch at the lip to approximately 1 inch at the upper end. A mouth piece of bamboo, 8 inches to 1 foot in length and approximately 1 inch in diameter, was fitted into the small end of the tube. It was not attached in any way, and when the instrument was not in use was usually removed and placed inside the wooden part. A few wooden trumpets were decorated with carving; an unfinished specimen in the Bishop Museum bears several designs which appear to have been copied from tattooing.

The trumpet was blown in the same manner as an European bugle. The trumpets still in use give a remarkably clear and penetrating note. One old informant stated that trumpets of this sort were blown by returning fishing parties to summon the villagers to the shore, but no other uses were mentioned.

Two varieties of shell trumpet were used by the Marquesans. The smaller, which appears to have been somewhat rare, was made from the shell of *Cassis rufa* by grinding away the apex of the whorl. A Cassis shell trumpet [825] found in a burial cave in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, can still be blown and gives a clear but not very loud note. (See Pl. LXXII, *B*.)

Most Marquesan shell trumpets appear to have been made from the large shell of *Triton tritonis*. The larger shells of this variety were brought up by [825] divers from considerable depths and seem to have been highly valued.

To prepare the shell for use a hole was ground in the side of one of the whorles a short distance below the tip of the shell, and above this a mouthpiece, made of a small gourd, was attached with breadfruit gum. Handy was informed that the mouthpiece was made of bamboo, but this practice certainly was not general. Langsdorff (38, p. 164) says that the mouthpiece was made from an oil nut, but he is probably in error, for the *aoa* nut is too small to have been used in this way.

Triton shell trumpets were usually provided with a band of sennit which served for decoration and also for the attachment of a suspension cord. (See Pl. LXXII, *C*.) A hole was cut in the farthest projection of the lip by sawing a transverse groove in the outer surface of the shell until the channel was reached. A number of small sennit cords were passed [284] through this hole, along the top of the shell, then around the body of the shell a short distance below the apex, and back to the hole again. The separate strands were laid side by side and fastened together at intervals of three or four inches by transverse cords of sennit applied as in simple wrap weaving. There was thus a loop around the apex of the shell and a broad band running longitudinally from the loop to the lip. At either end of the broad band were placed additional lashings from which short loops were made. A long thick cord made from twisted white tapa passed through these loops and served for the suspension of the shell. A tassel, attached just above the lip end of the band, consisted of a number of tresses of human hair which were fastened to strands of sennit in the same manner as in hair ornaments. A tube of human bone, carved into a tiki, was threaded over the sennit cords and concealed all but their inner ends. One of the trumpets examined had been broken and mended with pieces of pearl shell glued on with breadfruit gum.

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534 Triton trumpets were highly prized and were used in war and in religious ceremonies. Old specimens are still quite commonly to be found in *me'ae*. According to Handy the Triton trumpet was called *putona*, and the shell itself *vehine na te mano*, "wife of the shark." The maternal uncle of the first child born in a chiefly family announced the event by a blast on a trumpet of this kind.

FLUTES

The Marquesans used both mouth flutes and nose flutes.

The nose flute, called by the natives of Hiva Oa *pukehakeu*, is made from a single joint of bamboo ¾ to 1¼ inches in diameter and 15 to 20 inches long. The upper end of the flute is closed by the septum of the joint, while the lower end is open. The blow hole is in the side of the instrument, immediately below the septum, and the stops in most flutes are placed in the lower half of the tube, in line with the blow hole. (See Pl. LXXIII, *G*.) In historic times the holes appear to have been made by burning with a hot iron. The usual number of stops is two, but some instruments have three and a flute found by Handy in Ua Pou (Pl. LXXIII, *F*) has four stops, two of which are placed a short distance below the blow hole; the other two in the usual position. The lower end of this flute is roughly cut, suggesting that it was originally longer.

[531] In ancient times nose flutes were sometimes decorated with burned designs made with a stone or bone point heated in the fire.

A peculiar nose flute in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXXIII, *E*) attributed to the Marquesas, is made from a joint of bamboo 22⅜ inches long and 1⅝ inches in diameter and is closed at both ends.

Along one side of the flute are five holes, each about ¼ of an inch in diameter. The top hole is close to the septa of the joint while the others are placed at equal intervals. In line with the central hole two others are pierced at equal intervals in the circumference of the tube. The flute is decorated with burned designs of decidedly non-Marquesan character so that its Marquesan origin seems doubtful. It is probably Tongan.

Nose flutes are now obsolete in the Marquesas, and very few persons can play them properly.

In playing, the instrument is held with the edge of the closed end resting against the septum of the nose and the blow hole below and a little distance away from the right nostril. The body of the flute inclines downward and to the right and most of the knack in playing the instrument lies in holding it at the correct angle. The upper end is supported in the left hand, the left nostril being closed by the thumb. The stops are manipulated with the fingers of the right hand. In the Ua Pou specimen the two upper stops must have been played with the left hand. Several of the flutes seen had one of the stops plugged with a wad of coconut fiber, and it is said that a beginner would learn to play well upon one stop before attempting to use more.

The ordinary mouth flute (*puakahou*) (Pl. LXXIII, *D*) is still used throughout the Marquesas. One informant believed that it was not an aboriginal instrument, but if foreign it must have been introduced at an early date.

The mouth flute is made from a long joint of bamboo, rarely over three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The upper end is closed by the septum of the joint. The sound is produced

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by a tongue about five-sixteenths of an inch wide, made of the inner layers of the bamboo, which acts upon the same principle as the reed of a clarionet. This tongue is placed just below the septum and as it has a tendency to stick, one or two hairs are often drawn across under it at the bottom. There are usually three stops, but in rare instruments four may be present. These stops are placed at equal intervals, the distances between them corresponding to the distance from the lowest stop to the bottom of the flute. The actual distances between stops vary in different flutes, but the regular spacing seems to be a constant feature. In observing the process of manufacture it was noted that the distances were measured by the width of the first two fingers of the right hand. Unlike those of nose flutes the stops of the *puakahau* were always cut (not burned) out. 534

A curious form of *puakahau* (Pl. LXXIII, *C*) for which there seems to have been no special name, was made from two pieces of bamboo one of which fitted accurately inside the other.

The larger piece, which formed the upper end of the flute, was closed, and was provided with a tongue. The stops were cut in the smaller piece. The section bearing the stops could be slid in and out, varying the pitch of the instrument. A flute of this sort was tuned to harmonize with another of ordinary type when the two were to be played together.

Some *puakahau* were made of two, or even three, pieces of bamboo which fitted together closely. Such instruments could not be tuned but they might be taken to pieces and carried in a small space.

Players of the *puakahau*, as of the nose flute, began by mastering one stop before attempting to use more. *Puakahau* are still occasionally used for dances, but in recent times have been employed principally by the men in courting. In former times there are said to have been regular *puakahau* orchestras, composed of as many as twelve men, who were trained to play together. Such orchestras took part in fetes and dances, but it is doubtful whether they were employed in religious ceremonies.

WHISTLES

Bamboo whistles are still used by the children as toys, but they agree so closely with European whistles in shape and principle that it seems doubtful whether they are aboriginal (Pl. LXXIII, *A*). [124] [177]

Whistles are made from a section of bamboo eight to twelve inches long and about one inch in diameter. The lower end is closed by the septum of the joint while the upper end is cut at a long angle and plugged with a piece of wood cut exactly like the plug in an ordinary wooden whistle. A hole is cut in the side of the bamboo just below the inner end of this plug.

The Marquesans occasionally use a hybrid wind instrument, half whistle and half flute, which the natives believe to be aboriginal, but the type appears to be very rare. The upper end of this instrument is identical with that of the whistle, but three stops, like those of the *puakahau*, are cut in the lower part of the tube. In the specimen illustrated (Pl. LXXIII, *B*), two of the three stops have been plugged with cloth.

The following names for flutes have been recorded by Handy, or compiled by him from Dordillon's Dictionary:

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Puihu. Nose flute. (D.)
Puuetue. Nose flute. (D.)
Ivi taki. Flute. (D.)
Ia pianami, ia piveuveu. Flute. (D.)
Ki hohe puru. Nose flute. (H.)
Ki. Flute. (H.)
Vivo (Nuku Hiva dialect). Flute with three holes.

JEW'S HARPS

Bamboo's Jew's harps are still used in the Marquesas by boys and young men.

The main part of the harp consists of a strip of bamboo six to eight inches long and about one inch wide. It is split from a large joint, so that it is only slightly curved. A deep narrow notch is cut in the center of one end of this strip; a thin flat strip of bamboo, slightly wider than the notch, serves as a vibrator. This vibrator is not attached to the wider strip, but is laid on its concave surface, covering the notch and protruding two or three inches beyond the end of the wider strip. The instrument is held in the left hand, with the convex side of the wide strip against the mouth. The player blows through the notch, meanwhile striking the projecting end of the narrow strip rapidly with the right hand. Jew's harps seem to have been used only as toys.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

The only aboriginal stringed instrument now used in the Marquesas is the musical bow called *utete*. (See Pl. LXXII, *E*). At the present time it is practically obsolete. It was seen only once in the valley of Pua-Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The body of the modern bow is made of fau wood, and is flat on the outer, and convex on the inner surface. An average specimen is three feet six inches long, with a central width of one inch, tapering to ¾ of an inch at the ends. The string is usually made of slender iron wire, but a very thin cord, twisted from the fibers of the leaf sheath of the coconut palm, is still occasionally used. One end of the cord is twisted around the bow, while its opposite end, which is knotted, is caught in a narrow slot in the wood. To increase the tension, small stones or little pieces of wood, like bridges, are placed under one or both ends of the string. In playing the instrument one end is held in the teeth while the body of the bow projects almost horizontally to the left. The bow is supported by the left hand and the string tapped rapidly with a slender baton made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet. Handy was informed that the bow was made of *uio* and that the string was plucked with the fingers of the right hand.

The musical bow was primarily a woman's toy, but is played by persons of both sexes at the present time. The note is quite faint, being almost inaudible twenty feet away, but being held in the teeth, sounds quite loud to the player.

Dordillon defines the word *kikoua* as a "kind of shell lyre" and *e pukaua kikoua* as a "lyre." This would seem to indicate the former existence in the Marquesas of stringed instruments other than the musical bow, but no examples of these have survived, and no information in regard to them was obtained.

STICKS FOR BEATING TIME

At dances the men sometimes beat time with two short sticks. One of the sticks is held in the palm of the left hand and tapped with the other, held in the right hand.

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XYLOPHONE

According to Handy, the natives of Nuku Hiva used an instrument called *paku kou kau* which consisted of ten flat pieces of hau wood resting upon two slender transverse sticks. It was beaten with two sticks held in the hands. This instrument was evidently a primitive xylophone and, if aboriginal, is of considerable interest. 584

COMPARISON

Two quite distinct types of large drum were used in Polynesia. In Hawaii, the Marquesas, the Society and Cook islands, the drums were tubular, with a skin head, and stood on end; most of them were provided with a pierced base cut in one piece with the body. They were beaten with the hand. In Samoa and Tonga, on the other hand, the large drums were canoe shaped, closed at the ends, but with a long opening on one side. They were laid on the side, and were beaten with short clubs. In New Zealand, where one might expect to find the tubular, skin headed drum, the drum was of western Polynesian type. The great wooden gongs of New Zealand appear to have no Polynesian parallel The large tubular drum is unknown in Melanesia, although the principle of this drum is used in small hand instruments. The long slotted drum on the other hand is almost universal. It seems possible, therefore, that the use of the long slotted drum in Samoa and Tonga is due to Fijian influence. 534 171

Wooden trumpets appear to have been used in only two Polynesian localities, the Marquesas and New Zealand. The instruments from these regions have little more than the principle in common, however, the Maori examples being much more elaborate. The wooden trumpet does not seem to have been used in Micronesia, and its Melanesian occurrence is limited to a single locality; the interior of northern New Guinea on the Sepik River.

Shell trumpets were used everywhere in Polynesia. In Hawaii the trumpet was made from a species of Cassis, in the Marquesas of both the Cassis and Triton, and in the Society Islands and New Zealand from the Triton. A separate mouth piece was used in the Marquesas, the Society Islands and New Zealand. In Melanesia trumpets made from the Triton shell are almost universal, and a species of Cassis is used in a few localities, but separate mouth pieces appear to be unknown.

The nose flute appears to have been used everywhere in Polynesia except Samoa. Mouth flutes, on the other hand, are found everywhere except in Hawaii, although Krämer believes their presence in Samoa to be due to Fijian or Tongan influence. Cook noted a tunable nose flute in the Society Islands. In Melanesia the nose flute is found in Fiji and in one or two other localities, but

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it is not common. Mouth flutes are rare in Melanesia, but a type with two holes was used in New Caledonia.

Whistles were used in the Marquesas and in New Zealand. They do not seem to have been used elsewhere in Polynesia.

A Jew's harp practically identical with that found in the Marquesas was used in Hawaii, while a crude form of this instrument also is found in New Zealand. It does not seem to have been used in Western Polynesia. In Melanesia the Jew's harp is important only in the Solomon Islands, but the instrument used there differs so radically from the Marquesan, both in form and method of playing, that relationship seems improbable.

The occurrence of the musical bow in Polynesia seems to have been limited to the Marquesas and Hawaii. The Hawaiian instrument, *ukeke* (Emerson, 72, p. 147), had three strings, and it is possible that the Marquesan "lyres" bore some relation to it. In Melanesia a single stringed musical bow, which was tapped with a stick as in the Marquesas, was used in New Caledonia. A two-stringed bow, quite different in principle from the Hawaiian *ukeke*, was used in the Solomon Islands.

A joint of bamboo slotted along one side, laid on the ground and beaten with two sticks, was used as a musical instrument in Tonga, the Cook Islands and the Society Islands, but was not used in Hawaii or the Marquesas and is naturally lacking in New Zealand. In Melanesia it seems to have been limited to the south coast of New Guinea.

The use of a series of joints of bamboo which were held vertically and beaten upon the ground seems to have been limited, in Polynesia, to Samoa and Tonga. A curious drum made from several joints of bamboo lashed together, the heads covered with matting, seems to have been limited to Samoa. In Polynesia pan pipes of bamboo were limited to Tonga.

Although the distinction between the marginal and western divisions of Polynesian culture is less clearly marked by musical instruments than by houses or stone artifacts, it is possible to distinguish a few features. The large cylindrical drum with a skin head is an element of the eastern or marginal culture; the slotted drum is distinctively western. The reversal of this rule in New Zealand does not seem enough to invalidate the general conclusion. The Jew's harp also appears to be an element of the marginal culture. The wooden trumpet and whistle are limited to New Zealand and the Marquesas. In view of the absence of the nose flute in Samoa it seems possible that this also was originally a feature of the marginal culture and that its presence in Tonga is due to the strong Fijian influence. The slotted bamboo, on the other hand, and the series of joints of bamboo thumped on the ground, appear to be features of the western culture.

Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Musical Instruments

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Shell trumpet	Cassis and triton shells, latter with separate mouth piece	Triton shells with separate mouth piece	Cassis shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece
Wooden trumpet	Important	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Drum	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Canoe shaped, also wooden gongs	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Horizontal slotted	Horizontal slotted
Mouth flute	Important, one form tunable	Important, no tunable form	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Rare or absent
Nose flute	Important	Present	Important	Important	Not used	Present
Musical bow	Present	Not used	Highly developed, with three strings	No data	Not used	Not used
Jew's harp	Present	Not used	Form identical with Marquesan	No data	Not used	Not used
Slotted bamboo	Not used	Not used	Not used	Important	(?)	Not used
Lengths of bamboo beaten on ground	Not used	Not used	Present	Not used	Important	Present

Toys

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Stilts	Important	Present	Present but rare	Present	Not used	Not used
Surf board	Present	Present	Important	Present	Present	Not used
Dart throwing	Important	Important	Present	Present	Present	Present
Bowling	Not used	Not used	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Coasting	Not used	Children only	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Kites	Present	Important	Present	Children only	Not used	Not used
Draft game	Not used	Present	Present	Not used	Not used	Not used

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *A*, DRUMS; *B*, CASSIS SHELL TRUMPET; *C*, CONCH SHELL TRUMPET; *D*, WOODEN TRUMPET; *E*, MUSICAL BOW.

[End plate 33]

Yi Liston E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

T: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *A*, WHISTLE; *B*, WHISTLE FLUTE; *C*, TUNABLE MOUTH FLUTE; *D*, MOUTH FLUTE (PUAKAHAU) ORDINARY FORM; *E*, DECORATED NOSE FLUTE; *F*, NOSE FLUTE, UNUSUAL FORM (LOCATION DOUBTFUL); *G*, NOSE FLUTES, ORDINARY FORM.

[End plate 34]

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festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones *(tutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty-five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

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After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This [183] pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of [522] some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In [837] the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing [515] with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind [302] the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As [177] soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places [534] along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing [226] expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

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